[87 cont.]

302 Our data about painting and tattooing are very meager. According to the oldest reports, at the time of the Spanish visit, the inhabitants of Ndeni had their bodies mostly colored black (5).

5. Dalrymple, p. 78. With reference to Vanikoro, D'Urville, p. 135, mentions rubbing with coconut oil.

Gaimard observed the same black painting among the women of Vanikoro (6). Markham mentions that they paint themselves

6. D'Urville, p. 338. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 265 (black and brown; cf. previous footnote).

with colors that are rubbed in with coconut oil (7), and Coote

7. Markham, p. 164.

speaks of a black facial painting with red and yellow stripes, Joest only of coloring the body yellow with Curcuma in the case [548] of children and prostitutes (8). Almost as meager are the reports

8. Coote, p. 158. Joest in Baessler, p. 381.

304 about tattooing; Dillon and D'Urville, with reference to Vanikoro, mention a back-tattooing, not very visible on the black skin, in [531/177] the form of fish, lizards, series of triangles, etc., which clearly shows the influence of Tikopia, and indirectly of Rotuma. Labillardière likewise mentions back-tattooing in particular on Ndeni (9). Joest says of the Reef Islanders that the women he saw

9. Dillon, p. 278. D'Urville, p. 215. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 265. Labillardière, p. 256.

[145 cont.] Joest,
304 contrary to Dillon, says that circumcision is not customary on Ndeni (3).

3. Dillon, p. 314. Joest in Baessler, p. 378. On the basis of our present knowledge, local differences cannot be excluded with absolute certainty.

836 On Ndeni premarital intercourse between the sexes is
684 not practiced, according to Joest, but rather is punished by death, perhaps because originally, with the local organization, it was
● 548 identical with incest (4). On the other hand, prostitution is
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4. Joest in Baessler, p. 386; Tagebuch, p. 63.

associated with the life in the bachelors' houses and also in related areas of the culture. Three or four men buy a girl for feather money, usually a child, because children are still cheap, and, for the same reason, a child is chosen preferably from a small kin group because each relative demands a share of the purchase price. After she has reached maturity, the girl is used and provided for jointly by the buyers, as well as hired out
[436] in exchange for feather money, pigs, or coconuts. The proceeds are divided in proportion to the amount contributed toward the purchase price. The girl gets none of it, but she is well
[554] provided for, is the social equal of the other women, and even enjoys the privileges of living in the bachelors' house, which the other women may not enter. The buyers do not have the right to kill her; the entire village would avenge the murder. When the buyers are tired of the girl, they take her to another village and auction her off, which is always an important event for the populace. Eventual children belong to all the buyers

548 [145 cont.]
567 jointly in case the father cannot be ascertained. Boys are often killed; girls, as a rule, are again sold as prostitutes (5).

5. Joest in Baessler, pp. 384 ff., 399.

575 Coote states that the club life of Santa Cruz seems to
[171] be very similar to that of the New Hebrides (6). In view of his

6. Coote, p. 154.

superficial knowledge, he could only have inferred this from the life in the bachelors' houses. Nothing of the well-developed club life of the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides is reported for Santa Cruz. Nevertheless, masked dances and the accompanying secret societies do not seem entirely foreign to the group. At
[535] any rate, a bark-cloth dance mask from Santa Cruz is [146] preserved in the ethnographic collection of the Geographisch-Ethnographischen Gesellschaft in Zurich (1), and a tradition of

1. Verbal communication from Director Foy.

773 Nukapu, one of the Reef Islands, tells of a woman who, during an attack by natives from Tongoa Island, disguised herself with coconut leaves to resemble a spirit and, using a sharp-edged triton shell, killed almost a hundred enemies, one by one, as they entered the spirit house (2).

2. O'Ferrall, p. 288.

574 Foreign guests are received in the bachelors' house on
609 Vanikoro and the Reef Islands, probably everywhere. On Vanikoro they are sometimes offered betel as a gesture of wel-
[262] come, but above all they are served cooked fish, taro, coconuts, and bananas wrapped in leaves. The chief provided food for the guests, and Gaimard, as an Ariki, always received twice as

/168 cont./

291 Likewise on the Reef Islands are found the men's apron of bark cloth (cf. p. 34 above) and the sandal has been specifically documented from there (p. 33 above).]

301 One sees them with strings of shell beads at their necks and sometimes also at their ankles. In place of a hip cord they [often] put on a bark belt, similar to that of the men. The hair is usually kept short;
302 there was only one woman who, like her /Fig. 11 appears here/ daughter, had long hair dyed with Curcuma. Possibly she was a
[548] prostitute (3).

3. [Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 94 and 96. The woman with long hair is shown in the lower row in Ill. 96 (on the left in both photographs). The conclusion drawn by Graebner, p. 85, from Fig. 15 in Ethn., I, p. 84 (quite apart from the fact that he mistakenly regards the women pictured as Nitendi people; cf. above p. 10, footnote 2), is obviously incorrect.]

I did not see body painting done any more (4). It is

4. [Ethn., I, p. 87.]

probably applied now only on the more important festive occasions.
304 /169/ Tattooing (1) is rare on Nitendi and is limited to rather
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1. [Ethn., I, pp. 87 f.]

indistinct lines and rings on the face. Tattooing is more frequently seen among the Reef Islanders. Among the men of

/173 cont./
and fishing implements are hung. From the roof dangle the bones and skulls of pigs, fish, and turtles, reminders of important festivities (5).] In one or two corners of the house there is a light,

5. [O'Ferrall, section "A 'Club House.'" Coombe, pp. 187 f. The description of how the bamboo poles are set up differs.

low enclosure with a half-height /174/ entrance. These are the sleeping areas for the prostitutes, who live entirely with the men and are the only women permitted to enter the men's house. The floor of the house, which [is strewn with beach pebbles (1) and] is

1. [O'Ferrall, section "A Club House"; Coombe, p. 187.]

covered with plaited mats [made of fronds of the coconut palm (2)]

2. [O'Ferrall, section "Mat Making"; Coombe, p. 187.]

is kept scrupulously clean (3).

3. [Before entering the men's house, the feet are cleaned by rubbing them against stones and by stamping up and down (Coombe, p. 187).]

All the men's houses stand on stone bases (4), and the

4. [O'Ferrall, section "A Club House"; Coombe, p. 187. For the Reef Islands, see Girieud and Herrenschmidt, p. 106. Steps lead up to the doors: Speiser, Südsee, p. 293.]

/191 cont./

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ordinary form of oar also occurs on Vanikoro (cf. Lennier, Pl. I, III, V). According to Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 165, the oars are supposedly often carved with representations of the frigate bird. The rudder of the sail-boats of the Reef Islands can be seen very well in an illustration in O'Ferrall, section "Sailing Canoe." According to it one cannot call the blade heart-shaped, as Graebner does. It is used from the smaller platform of the sail-boats (Coombe, p. 197).]

[532]

[The boat scoop shown in Ethn., I, p. 111, Fig. 42, No. 1, does not come from Santa Cruz, according to a specimen in the k. k. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseum in Vienna, but from Efate, New Hebrides (5).]

5. [The Viennese specimen (No. 41609) has the original label: "Fort Franceville, Sandwich Island." This is the very island that Wilhelm Joest was on before his journey to Santa Cruz. Dr. Speiser believes that our specimen, too, more likely originated from Efate. Cf. also the stylistically related wooden bowl, Fig. 59 on p. 131.]

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Trade (6) between Nitendi and the Reef Islands consists

6. [Ethn., I, pp. 112 f.]

chiefly of the acquisition of girls from the Reef Islands by

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435 [548] Nitendi men in order to rear them as village prostitutes, while the Reef Islanders obtain sago from their previously mentioned properties on Nitendi (7). It cannot be said that the natives 437

7. [See above, pp. 71 f.]

of Nitendi are more unpleasant in trading than the other primitive inhabitants of the South Seas. As a rule, they come to an agreement rather quickly, and a constant rise in prices seldom occurs.

436 Feather money (8) is the most important object of value.

8. [Ethn., I, pp. 114 f. The statement there that various pieces of wood carving and other objects are fastened to the ends is an error; cf. Foy, Ethn., II, p. 145, footnote 9. In part this is a matter of reinforcements or packing for the rolls of money (in Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 165, No. 2, the meaning is not at all clear), in part amulets. Concerning the amulets that are packed in, each with special magical power, see also Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 164. Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 163, No. 2, illustrate one specimen of the painted rectangular boards, which perhaps are only amulets, and I am showing two more specimens with interesting appendages here (Fig. 35). Two other similar boards are to be found in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig (Me 1093 and 1094). In the case of one specimen of feather money in the R.-J.-M., No. 30582 (Speiser Coll.), the ends are sewed

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the women scarcely live apart from the men, in Polynesian fashion. However, see Girieud and Herrenschmidt, p. 107, according to whom the women, like those of Nitendi, must hide in the bush and turn their backs or dive under the water when men approach.]

must even turn away if, walking along the village shore, he sees the women far out on the reef, and the women must cover themselves with their tapa cloths in front of the men. One almost never sees the women on the water; they go to the fields only in bands, accompanied by an old woman "chief," and if there are men coming from the distance, the women must hide in the bushes and turn their backs to the men. The men, for their part, must announce their coming by slapping their buttocks with their hands. The whole village watches over the behavior of the women; the members of the village feel responsible for the honor of their women, even when the latter have been bought by strangers and have moved away.

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With such strict etiquette there could not fail to be constant violations against morality, which are then the cause of village feuds. If a man happens to succeed in surprising a woman, it is said that he usually kills her to avoid discovery.

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Birth (1) takes place in the house. The woman gives

1. [Cf. Ethn., I, p. 144.]

birth standing up, holding on to another woman around the neck, and a midwife receives the child. The mother may go out as soon as she likes, but the child may not be washed during the first three months.

● 548

Most of the prostitutes (2) come from the Reef Islands,

2. [Ethn., I, p. 145.]

because the women there are prettier and stronger than on

/203 cont./

548 [583] Nitendi (3), and are bought by a syndicate. A man may pay off

3. [Speiser, Südsee, p. 302.]

the other joint-owners of the woman, whereupon she becomes his legitimate wife. The prostitutes grant their favors in the compartments that are to be found in the corners of the men's houses (4).

4. [Cf. above, pp. 50 f.]

[302] They usually wear their hair short and are smeared all over with Curcuma (5).

5. [Joest reports the latter; cf. Ethn., I, p. 87.]

515 [535] There is no club life comparable, for example, to the suque of the Banks Islands; there is scarcely anything like a secret society, and masked dances certainly do not take place, for otherwise one would know something about them. The information on the origin of the mask in Zürich (6) is doubtful.

6. [Ethn., I, pp. 145 f.]

765 [On burial customs (7) it should be mentioned that

7. [Ethn., I, pp. 146 f. Speiser, Südsee, p. 295.]

766 [764] friends and relatives gather to mourn; they expect to be reimbursed with food and money (8).] Whereas for an ordinary man

8. [O'Ferrall, section "Round Houses." Coombe, p. 170.]

the funeral feast /204/ takes place after five days, for a "chief"

[i.e. - prostitutes--unalyst]

435 436 [463] money changing specialize in it and make a profit. These transactions take place before an informal gathering of witnesses in the men's clubhouse of a village, where the pieces of currency are draped over a horizontal bar for close comparison. Regardless of who has initiated the deal, the piece of greatest value (the "high piece") is hung over the center of the bar. Alongside it (and always in the direction of the Nemabo River, a spring-fed stream symbolically associated with the currency spirits) is hung the "base piece," the most valuable of the belts to be exchanged for the high piece. On the other side is hung the "crown piece," the piece that makes up the difference in value between the base piece and the high piece. Values are matched in terms of the 10-point scale. For example, if the high piece is an average No. 6 and the base piece is a fine No. 7, a middling No. 7 may suffice as a crown.

[776] [778]

In this manner the par value of the high piece is agreed on. But the price at which it now actually sells is something else again. Because high-value currency is scarcer than low-value currency, the owner of the high piece is a seller in a seller's market. The buyer (the owner of the base and crown pieces) must offer additional currency. It is not only that the high piece is newer; there are fewer new pieces in circulation. Hence market value is correlated to scarcity. The greater the par value of the high piece, the greater the spread between this value and the market price. (It is as though a $10 bill were worth a little more than two fives and a $20 bill worth more than two tens by a still larger margin.) It is the difficulty and expense of obtaining high-value pieces on the exchange market that ultimately leads a man to contract with the three currency specialists for a new piece.

438 Since all the feather currency originates on Santa Cruz Island, it must flow continually from its source to the Reef and Duff islands, where it is not manufactured. To maintain this one-way flow of currency the Reef Islanders have traditionally exported some of their women to Santa Cruz. Today the women go only as wives but once some went as concubines. Concubines were clearly distinguished from wives: they were shared by a group of men; they did no gardening or other domestic chores; having no dwelling of their own, they lived in the men's clubhouse. On the other hand, a concubine's possessors

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438 could purvey her services as a prostitute, sell her outright or even kill her
[595] without fear of retaliation. None of these
[548] things could be done with wives. But since the purchase price of a concubine was 10 times higher than a bride price, selling a girl into concubinage had its attractions for many Reef Island families. The British Government has forbidden the practice, but Reef Island
[177] women still go south as wives. Their
[583] bride prices are the main source of cur-
[554] rency for their home islands. An imported wife brings extra prestige to a Santa Cruz man, and bride prices for Reef women run about twice as high as they do for domestic wives.

The Duff Islanders get their feather currency not by selling women but by building large sailing canoes that carry on interisland traffic in passengers and cargo. The men of the Duffs do not en-
[437] gage in that traffic themselves; they sell
[505] the canoes for feather currency to the people of a few of the western Reef Islands, who in turn specialize in voyaging and trading throughout the islands. These mariners sail even to the southern islands of Utupua and Vanikoro in search of trade. The two islands are outside the feather-currency area, but their people until recently depended on the
[436] canoes to bring them the shell disks and lengths of woven cloth they used as currency. For these precious items they
[437] traded, at fixed rates, packets of red honey eater feathers, and these were resold on Santa Cruz to the makers of feather currency. In this manner the two different money systems became interlocked and interdependent, and the economies of north and south remain so today, even though there is no longer any traffic in currency materials.

177 Since the end of World War II the
436 Santa Cruz monetary system has come under pressure from the world outside. More and more Australian money has flowed into the islands; it circulates along with the feather currency and is completely interchangeable with it. Today the rate of exchange is roughly one shilling for a piece of feather money of minimum value. This makes the par value of a No. 1 piece 512 shillings, or about 25 Australian pounds. Figured in
[464] terms of labor (at the prevailing net wage rate for unskilled labor in the central Solomons, where most Santa Cruz men work at some point in their lives), the value of a new piece of currency is roughly comparable: about 20 to 24 pounds.

458 Plantation wages have nearly trebled
177 since 1945. The great increase in the

higher the value of a piece of currency, the fewer there are; thus the rarity value increases with the value as determined by its condition. Translated in terms of our own money, it would be as if a ten-dollar bill was worth more than ten one-dollar bills because there are fewer of them in circulation. Unlike our money again, feather currency has no numerical units of value which permit easy and exact equivalencies to be made. Rather, the value of this exotic currency is not unlike that of precious gems, were they to be used as a medium of exchange. Each stone would be unique as to quality and size, and value could only be determined by recognized criteria of excellence plus the condition of the market. 495 436

Currency flows outward from its source throughout Santa Cruz Island and on to the Reef and Duff Islands in the north. These latter islands constitute areas of perennial shortage. Balancing this one-way flow of currency is a reverse movement of the most valuable commodity of all--women. The Reef Islands send out some of their women in exchange for bride prices paid in feather currency. Santa Cruz Island never sends its women abroad under any circumstances. Formerly, these women came to Santa Cruz both as wives and as concubines. The concubines were clearly distinguished from wives by the fact that they were shared by a group of men in a form of polyandry; they did no gardening or other domestic tasks normally assigned to women; and while they enjoyed a specially favored social position, they could be purveyed as prostitutes, sold outright, or even killed by the will of their owners alone. Bride prices for concubines were much higher than for ordinary wives--ten times higher to be exact. Due to government regulations, wives only are brought to Santa Cruz Island nowadays, but these are the prestigeful marriages, and their bride prices are larger than those of domestic unions. 438 [595] [548] [583] [554]

This one-way movement of women is correlated with an interesting population phenomenon. Santa Cruz Island population statistics reveal an abundance of males as compared with females of marriageable age, while in the Reef Islands the ratio is nearly even. This abundance of men is a phenomenon which has been noted in other Melanesian and New Guinea populations, but it has neither been investigated nor explained. [162]

The Duff Islands in the extreme northeast corner of the group come into the economic picture, not by sending out women, but by being specialists in making large sailing canoes in which cargos and passengers are transported interisland. These canoes are mainly sold to the Polynesian-speaking people of the small atolls of the Western Reef Islands who make their money by voyaging and trading throughout the group. Formerly, they sailed as far as the southern islands of Vanikoro and Utupua, ninety miles south of Santa Cruz Island. These islands depended upon receiving ground shell discs and special lengths of loom-woven fabric of banana fiber, specialties of certain districts of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, which were used as currency there. For these they traded feathers used on Santa Cruz Island for the making of feather currency. These shell and fabric currencies of Vanikoro and Utupua have no currency value in the island where they were made, and feather currency has no value in the former islands. [896] [505] [436] [184]

The Santa Cruz Group has a long history of contact with European civilization, beginning with Mendaña's second voyage in 1595. For the most part, however, the early contacts had little effect on the islanders, but were disastrous for the Europeans. Mendaña himself and many of his company died on Santa Cruz Island, Carteret lost some of his men there also when he attempted to land, La Perouse and his entire expedition perished on Vanikoro, and late in the nineteenth century Commodore Goodenough and a dozen Anglican missionaries, including one bishop, met death in several attempts to bring this island group within the confines of the British Empire and Christendom. 177

From 1900 onward the situation began to change. The few recruits who had gone away to work on plantations, and schoolboys who had gone away to mission schools returned [464]